

LET US DEFEND INDEPENDENCY

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

Pyongyang, Korea

1966

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The struggle for the establishment of *Juche* (self-identity), against dogmatism, occupies an important place in the history of our Party.

Owing to specific features of development of our history, our country was affected by flunkeyism toward the great powers in the past. Following the liberation, the revolutionary work was participated in by people who came from different places and the composition of the Party ranks, too, was complicated. And some people lacked Marxist-Leninist culture and were inexperienced in revolutionary struggle.

These circumstances enabled dogmatism to exert influence to a certain degree in our Party.

This was a serious handicap in expediting revolution and construction. Hence, our Party tirelessly carried on educational work among the Party members and working people for surmounting dogmatism and establishing *Juche*.

However, the factionalists continued to obstruct the implementation of the correct policies of our Party. In the postwar period the harmful effect of dogmatism was all the more strikingly evidenced. As the socialist revolution and socialist construction progressed, this became no longer tolerable.

In 1955 our Party launched a struggle throughout the Party to oppose dogmatism and establish *Juche* in all fields.

This met with bitter resistance from the factionalists. In 1956 they launched a frontal attack against the independent lines of the Party. Neither revolution nor construction could make further headway unless the anti-Party activities of the factional elements were frustrated.

Factionalists in our country were, without exception, revisionists and dogmatists. They were also worshippers of the great powers and national nihilists. Thus the struggle against factionalism was linked with the struggle against modern revisionism, dogmatism, flunkeyism toward the great powers and national nihilism.

Our Party resolutely repelled the factionalists' advance against the Party.

As a result, the Party has been consolidated organizationally and ideologically, and the Party members have been firmly armed with the ideas of *Juche*. The independent lines of the Party have been carried through in all work. The establishment of *Juche* brought about a new, ideological emancipation within the Party. It became a great material force in socialist construction.

In international relations, too, our Party's activities have been independent. We have waged the struggle against modern revisionism also from an independent position, in accordance with our own judgment. The more complicated the situation became, the faster we held to our own independent position.

Juche in ideology, independence in politics, self-reliance in economy and self-defence in national defence—these have been the invariable lines of our Party.

Facts prove that all the lines pursued by our Party have been entirely correct. The victory we won in the revolution and construction is, above all, the fruition of the independent lines of our Party.

1. ONE SHOULD DO ONE'S OWN THINKING

Revolution and construction are arduous, complex and creative work. The work of overthrowing the old society and building a new one meets with desperate

resistance of all the old forces and undergoes many a difficulty. In this course, new, complicated problems which no one faced before, crop up one after the other.

There is no ready-made recipe for all cases. In leading revolution and construction the Communists must be prudent and do a lot of brainwork for themselves. Only by so doing can they solve all questions independently.

As regards the actual situation in each country, the party of that country knows well. No one else is in a position to know better. And the party of each country is responsible for the revolution and construction of that country.

Therefore, the Communists must provide clear-cut answers to questions arising in the course of the revolution and construction of their own country. Only then can they correctly lead the revolution and construction.

The Communists can read Marxist-Leninist literature and get the meaning by themselves. And they can find out the correct ways and means by themselves for the carrying out of the revolution, using Marxism-Leninism as the criterion. There is no special authority on Marxism-Leninism.

It is important to use one's own brains for the correct handling of all problems in the revolution and construction.

In this connection Lenin pointed out: **"It would be absurd to formulate a recipe or general rule . . . to serve all cases. One must use one's own brains and be able to find one's bearings in each separate case."**

To use one's own brains means observing and judging things and phenomena with one's own mind and acting independently.

The Communists cannot live ideologically shackled to anyone. Ideologically shackled to others, one cannot do his own thinking and act independently. Therefore, the Communists must, in the first place, be free ideologically. And they must live with an independent spirit, and possess

the unshakable ideas of *Juche*. The Communists must not dance to the tune of others.

If the Communists do not use their own brains, they will forfeit independency. Thus, they will blindly follow others without their own viewpoints or convictions. They will parrot what others say and act as others do. Accordingly, no creativeness will be displayed.

A party devoid of independency cannot have principle and consistency in its lines and policies. Such a party does things in one way today and another tomorrow, and constantly shifts from one deviation to another. One who is swayed by every wind that blows can by no means shape a correct line and policy.

When one loses the faculty of independent thinking and judgment, one cannot distinguish right from wrong. Such people get into revisionism if others get into it, and if others fall into dogmatism, they fall into it, too. They cannot do otherwise.

Comrade Kim Il Sung stated on this score: "If one fails to establish *Juche* in the ideological and political spheres, he will be unable to display any initiative because his faculty of independent thinking is paralyzed, and in the end he will even become unable to tell right from wrong and will blindly follow others. One who has lost his originality and independence in this way may fall into revisionism, dogmatism and every description of Right and 'Left' opportunism and may eventually bring the revolution and construction work to naught."

And it will be none other than the party and revolution of that country that will suffer from it. And this will do harm to the development of the international communist movement as well.

The history of the international communist movement records a considerable number of bitter experiences of heavy losses inflicted on the revolution by some Com-

munists because of their failure to carry on activities by using their own brains.

It is, of course, not easy to deal independently with new and complicated problems arising in the revolution and construction. But it cannot be avoided. There is no easy way of accomplishing revolution.

Flunkeyism toward the great powers is an obstacle to carrying out the revolution and construction with an independent spirit. Flunkeyism is a slavish, submissive idea of serving and worshipping great powers. It ushers in great-power chauvinism and generates dogmatism.

Rejection of flunkeyism became a problem of special importance in our country in the past years.

Flunkeyism has a long historical root in our country. The successive feudal rulers of the country served and worshipped great powers. They fawned upon and cringed before great powers and tried to hold the reins with the latter's support. And for a long time, our country was a colony of Japanese imperialism. It is a small country, and was at one time in a backward state compared with its neighbours.

This contaminated some people in the country with flunkeyism toward the great powers.

Needless to say, the socio-class conditions for the appearance of flunkeyism were eliminated in our country after the liberation. But the ideological survivals of flunkeyism still persisted.

There were times when the worshippers of great powers did no small harm to the revolutionary cause. Instead of using their own brains in all matters, they, first of all, read the faces of others and only waited for what the latter had to say. Thus they echoed what others said and blindly followed them. They readily worshipped anything belonging to great powers and were preoccupied with imitating others in everything.

Such attitude diametrically contradicts the spirit of independence of the Communists.

The Communists work for revolution neither on others' order nor to ingratiate themselves with others. They are engaged in revolution for their own faith in Marxism-Leninism.

How could one who has taken the path of revolution of one's own accord blindly follow others, without one's own viewpoints? No *Juche* could be established in ideology, nor revolution and construction be carried out independently unless flunkeyism was uprooted.

Our Party waged a struggle for overcoming dogmatism and flunkeyism and establishing *Juche* in ideology. Through this struggle, an independent position of thinking and acting by using one's own brains has been established in all spheres within the Party.

Thus our Party has been able to advance unwaveringly along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism, no matter which way the wind may blow, and it has also been able to vigorously carry on its work from an unshakable viewpoint of its own.

The successes scored by our people in the revolution and construction are associated, above all, with the independent line of our Party. Today's successes would have been impossible, if our Party had not upheld the position of solving all questions at its own discretion and independently.

Our experience shows that a party which leads revolution and construction can successfully fulfil the revolutionary tasks confronting it only when it deals independently and correctly with all matters with its own judgment and from its own viewpoint.

The Communists should use their own brains at all times and act independently with the spirit of *Juche*.

2. ONE SHOULD HAVE CONFIDENCE IN ONE'S OWN STRENGTH

The master of the revolution in each country is its party and its people. Therefore, the Communists should take the position of being the master and have confidence, above all, in their own strength in carrying out revolution and building a new society.

One cannot carry out revolution and construction by relying on other people; others cannot carry out revolution and construction in one's stead. Revolution can neither be exported nor imported.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that internal forces of each country are the decisive factor in the victory of revolution. The success or failure of revolution depends, in the first place, on the conscious and organized activities of the Party and people of that country.

Needless to say, revolution in each country is carried out in conjunction with the world revolution and is influenced by international factors. The impact of international factors must not be underestimated. The Communists of all countries should make maximum use, to their advantage, of the support of the working class of the world.

But, what is fundamental here are internal factors. Important as outside support is, it plays only a subsidiary role.

This is eloquently demonstrated today by the victory of the Vietnamese people in their resistance war of national salvation against the United States. The Vietnamese people today are receiving support from all the socialist countries and peace-loving people of the world. This, of course, is helpful and inspiring to the Vietnamese people.

But the main factor in the great victory won by the

North and South Vietnamese people today in the just war against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, lies not in the aid from outside but in their own indomitable revolutionary spirit and heroic struggle.

However great the outside support may be, victory in revolution cannot be expected when the subjective power of the country is not prepared.

The Communist and Workers' Parties should, first of all, solidly build up the revolutionary forces of their countries and firmly rely on the strength of their own peoples. The masses of the people are the source of inexhaustible might. What is important is to rouse the people and correctly organize and mobilize their strength.

No creativeness or enthusiasm can be displayed, and no ultimate victory in revolution be expected when we lack confidence in the strength of our people. In the long run, we shall lose confidence in the justice and victory of our cause, too.

If the Communists should only sit idly and wait for aid from outside, without preparing their own revolutionary force, there would be no revolution, nor would the gains of the revolution be defended. This would be an attitude to carry out the revolution and construction by relying on others and with others' efforts.

Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out: **"Both in the revolutionary struggle and in construction work, primary importance should be given to self-reliance, and support and encouragement from outside should come next. Only when one struggles in this spirit, can one expedite the revolution and construction of one's own country to the greatest possible degree and also contribute to the development of the international revolutionary movement."**

In revolution and construction, one should give primary importance to one's own power and secondary importance to aid from outside. This stands to reason in the light of the principle that the master of the revolution is the Party and people of the country concerned.

To put main emphasis on one's own efforts does not mean rejecting the support and aid of other countries. International support and aid are of weighty importance and of great help in the revolution and construction in each country.

But the advance of revolution is impossible if one does not make efforts oneself, counting on such support and aid only. Even when aid is given to a country, it can be turned to good account only if the master of that country acts wisely. The salutary effect of outside aid depends to a large measure upon those who receive the aid. No matter how beneficial the aid may be, it cannot be of much help if its recipient fails to turn it to good account.

The position of mainly relying on one's own efforts is aimed at lightening others' burden and fulfilling one's own revolution well. This is the way to repay others' aid with sincerity and is the position of true Communists.

Self-reliance is a manifestation of the independent spirit of the Communists to carry out the revolution in their country on their own responsibility. Only when the Communists adopt such an attitude can they break through any difficulty or obstacle they may encounter on the road of revolution.

Revolution and construction are not always a smooth sailing. There may be advance and retreat, victory and failure. Unexpected obstacles will crop up and sacrifice will be made in the course of revolution and construction.

One cannot surmount the arduous trials of revolution but will waver and recoil from a slight difficulty, if one fails to take the position of relying on one's own strength in all work.

Given the spirit of self-reliance, one can display courage and patience in struggle in any adversity. Thus one can tide over difficulties and convert an adverse situation into a favorable one.

Our Party has consistently upheld the principle of

relying mainly on our own efforts from the first days of its leadership of the revolution. We always educate the Party members and people in the spirit of self-reliance.

Even in the most trying period of postwar rehabilitation and construction, our Party mainly relied on its own strength, rejecting dependence upon others. We took up the first spade of postwar rehabilitation and construction in debris, in the literal sense of the word. Everything was short; we were beset with difficulties on all sides.

Some people vacillated at that time. Especially, the factional elements considered that our people would not be able to carry out rehabilitation and construction by their own efforts. They had no confidence in our strength and wanted to solve everything with the help of other people.

Such a stand met the resolute rebuff of our Party. We set about work with the deep conviction that we would be able to overcome any difficulty and reconstruct the devastated economy if we depended upon the inexhaustible strength of our people.

Of course, we received economic and technical aid from fraternal countries. It was a big help to us. But, even then, we did not think that we would be able to build socialism only with the aid of others.

We mainly relied upon the inexhaustible creative power of our people and our domestic resources. And we adopted the line of making effective use of the aid of the fraternal countries in such a way as to strengthen our independence.

Our people rose up, upholding the line of the Party. They completed postwar rehabilitation and construction in a brief time, tightening their belts and practising the strictest economy.

As the revolution and construction progressed, our Party further armed the masses of the people with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and inspired them to more strenuous work. The masses united around the Party and pulled through all hardships and obstacles.

In the course of this, the great upsurge of socialist construction took place in our country and the great Chollima (the winged horse) movement was unfolded. Vast latent reserves were explored and miracles were wrought everywhere, and the economic conditions of the country began to improve. We came to stand firmly on our own feet and gained the power to overcome any trial.

The experience of our Party shows that one can cope with any difficulty and solve any knotty problem if one places confidence in the strength of one's own people and uses it effectively through correct organizational work.

It is of importance in helping peoples of other countries for each Party to carry out the revolution in its country successfully, relying on its own efforts. One's own revolutionary force must be solid, first of all, if one is to assist other peoples in revolution and construction. Only when one's subjective revolutionary forces are strong, can one exert a good influence on the struggle of other peoples and render assistance to them.

It is the internationalist duty of the Communists to assist the revolutionary peoples. In particular, those countries which have carried out the revolution earlier and those which have developed earlier than others should give every assistance to the peoples who are waging revolutionary struggle under hard conditions and to the peoples of economically backward countries.

The Communists must under no circumstances become a captive to the idea of living well alone, paying no heed to others. They should not seek their personal comfort and pleasure alone or forget their class brothers. It is tantamount to giving up the revolutionary struggle half-way to forget the world revolution, lapsing into complacency only with the success of the revolution in their own country.

The Communists should fulfil the revolution of their country with a sense of responsibility, relying on the rev-

olutionary spirit of self-reliance, and ensure the victory of the common cause by uniting with the international revolutionary forces.

3. MARXISM-LENINISM IS A GUIDE TO ACTION

The Communists should always take Marxism-Leninism as the compass of their action.

Marxism-Leninism is the generalization of the historical experiences of the international working class movement. It elucidates the universal laws that must be observed in the revolution and construction in all countries.

Marxism-Leninism represents the highest level of all the advanced ideologies of mankind. It is the guiding ideology of the world revolution, the light-house illumining the path of revolution in all countries and an all-conquering weapon.

The Communist and Workers' Parties can play the vanguard role in revolution only when they are guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory. Otherwise, the revolution will be led astray and end up in failure.

We should not approach Marxism-Leninism from a subjective point of view. This or that proposition of Marxism-Leninism should not be construed willfully in one's own favour, for it would mean distortion and vulgarization of Marxism-Leninism.

This was precisely what the factional elements in our country did before. For their factional purposes they interpreted Marxist-Leninist propositions in their own way and distorted their essence. And they tried to apply them mechanically, in disregard of the realities of our country.

Yet, they behaved as if they had been the only ones

versed in Marxism-Leninism. They acted as if they had the exclusive right to interpret and develop Marxism-Leninism. These people considered everything they did was right and all that others did was wrong and amounted to nothing.

But actually they knew nothing. They recited by rote a few Marxist-Leninist propositions as dogmas, but did not know their essence. They were no more than Marxist-Leninists for appearance's sake.

Referring to such people, Stalin wrote: "The uncritical readers and talmudists regard Marxism and the separate conclusions and formulas of Marxism as a collection of dogmas which 'never' change despite the change of conditions of social development. They think that if they learn by heart these conclusions and formulas and start to quote them at random, they will be able to solve any questions, calculating that the learned conclusions and formulas are useful to them at all times, in all countries and for all cases in life.

"But thus can think only such persons, who see the letter of Marxism, but not see its essence, learn the texts of the conclusions and formulas of Marxism, but not understand their content."

We should understand the essence of Marxism-Leninism, grasp its revolutionary kernel and know how to apply it creatively to the practical activities of the revolution.

For this, it is important to approach every proposition of Marxism-Leninism from a historical point of view and in a concrete way. The theoretical propositions of Marxism-Leninism are related to the then revolutionary struggles. We should know under what concrete conditions and under what circumstances of class struggle they were formulated and should grasp their basic ideas. Only by so doing can we give correct answers to questions arising in reality.

Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma but a guide to ac-

tion. It is tested, replenished and enriched through practice.

The universal principles of Marxism-Leninism alone are not enough for exercising correct leadership over revolution and socialist construction. Marxism-Leninism sets forth only general and basic propositions on questions arising in the development of revolution. It cannot give concrete answers to all questions arising in the revolution of each country.

Society constantly changes and develops. So, reality is always more resourceful, more complicated and more concrete than theory.

The propositions of Marxism-Leninism should be linked up with the vivid reality of each country. Only then can the masses of the people be properly mobilised in the revolutionary struggle and construction work.

We must never lose sight of the national and historical peculiarities of our country in working out and implementing our lines and policies. All countries find themselves in different conditions and circumstances, and accordingly, ways and means of carrying out the revolution and construction cannot be the same.

The unity of tactics in the international communist movement does, by no means, rule out national multi-formity. It requires the correct application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism in conformity with the difference between nations or countries. The creative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of each country constitutes the basic guarantee for victory in revolution and socialist construction.

In all questions of revolution and construction the Party of each country should find forms and methods which suit best the conditions of its country. That which conforms to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and

concrete conditions of one's country should be applied, regardless of the existing formulas.

The Communist and Workers' Parties should evolve their own theory for leading the revolution and construction in their own countries by applying Marxism-Leninism creatively to the concrete conditions of their countries.

Correct strategy and tactics come from a correct guiding theory. The revolution of a country can not be led by the guiding theory of another party.

Our Party has shaped its own guiding theory by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the practice of the Korean revolution. It is concretized in the lines and policies of our Party. The lines and policies of our Party are living Marxism-Leninism embodied in the reality of Korea.

But the guiding theory of each party is of significance only within the bounds of that country. No matter how good the guiding theory of the Party of a certain country may be, it cannot be applied to all Parties because requirements of the revolution and the revolutionary situation differ in each country.

In applying Marxism-Leninism we should not slide into any deviations.

One should not ignore the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, while emphasizing only the peculiarities of the respective countries. Then one will inevitably commit Right opportunist errors.

The revisionists in history have distorted and revised the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism under the pretexts of "change of situation" and "creative development."

As historical examples show, if one gets bogged down in the mire of revisionism, one emasculates the revolutionary gist of Marxism-Leninism and denies its universal truth. Thus, he negates the class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, preaches class co-operation and insists

on the reform of the old system, instead of its revolutionary overthrow. The revisionists try to induce the working class to deviate from the revolutionary path, creating illusions about class enemies and beautifying them. For their temporary and partial interests, they abandon the fundamental interests of the working class.

The example of Yugoslavia clearly shows where the departure from Marxism-Leninism leads.

Along with this, we should guard against another deviation. It is also wrong to ignore the changed situation and concrete, specific features of a country, over-emphasizing the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

If one applies the general principles of Marxism-Leninism mechanically, not heeding the time and conditions, it will give rise to a dogmatic deviation. Then Marxism-Leninism will become lifeless, become a dead dogma. And the Party will be divorced from the masses and realities. Such an attitude causes a great loss to revolution and construction.

We should fight against all the erroneous deviations from Marxism-Leninism, and defend its purity.

The Communists can successfully lead revolution and construction only by strictly observing the principles of Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying them to the concrete conditions of their own countries.

4. ONE SHOULD NOT MECHANICALLY COPY AFTER OTHERS' EXPERIENCE

The Communist and Workers' Parties are gaining varied experiences in the course of revolution and construction. This comes from the different conditions and specific features of each country. The more peoples and

countries embark upon revolution and socialist construction, the more diverse and valuable experiences will be created.

It is not big Parties or Parties with a long history of revolution alone that garner fine experience. A small Party or a young Party, too, can create experience beneficial to the international communist movement if it holds fast to independency on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Positive experiences of all Parties enrich the treasure-house of the international communist movement and contribute to further developing Marxism-Leninism. They are valuable assets in the struggle for the cause of the working class.

Such experiences help each Party achieve victory more easily and more rapidly in revolution and construction.

The Communists should respect the experiences of all fraternal parties. Not only the experience of a certain particular Party but of all fraternal parties are valuable to the Communists.

In the international communist movement the experience of one Party alone cannot serve as an example of universal significance.

Experience should be tested in practice, no matter what Party's experience it may be. If the experience of a certain Party is valid theoretically and advantageous practically, it will be duly appraised.

The Communists should respect and draw lessons from all experiences, if they are advantageous to the development of the international communist movement, whether they belong to a big party or a small party.

However, whether to introduce or not the experience of any fraternal party is a question that should be judged and decided by each party according to its own actual conditions and needs. No one is allowed to interfere in this.

To learn from the experience of fraternal parties in no way means mechanically copying after it.

The Communists learn from the experience of fraternal parties in order to make it serve the revolution of their own countries.

Therefore, we should not swallow the experience of fraternal parties undigested. If it is swallowed whole it will not be useful but harmful to revolution and construction, however good it may be. Regarding the experience worth following as an example, too, we should digest it to suit our own actual conditions and peculiarities and benefit our revolution.

There can be no experience that mechanically applies to all countries. Each Party functions under different conditions. Therefore, an experience suitable and beneficial to one country may be unsuitable to another country.

Experience of one sort or another was created in the course of concrete, revolutionary practice in each country. It is clear, therefore, that experience of one country cannot be copied by another country with different conditions.

Comrade Kim Il Sung stressed: **“In the future, too, we should continue to study and learn from the experience of fraternal parties. But we will be unable to avoid dogmatist error if we do not study and take into consideration at all times the stage of historical development of the given country and the concrete social and class relations, in which the experience was gained, and the specific conditions of our country where it will be applied.”**

In applying the experience of fraternal parties, it is important, first of all, to correctly discern what is positive and what is negative in the experience.

If one is not firm in one's independent position, one will entertain illusions about another's experience and worship it blindly. And one will not at all be able to distinguish right from wrong, between which is worth learning from and which is not.

To take a critical attitude toward the experience of a fraternal party and introduce it in conformity with one's

own actual conditions, means in no way that one does not respect the experience or support that Party. This is altogether a different matter. The relations of internationalist friendship between the fraternal parties permit of no blind obedience of one to another.

Our Party has always maintained, and is maintaining, an independent position in applying the experience of fraternal parties, too. Our Party respects valuable experience of fraternal parties and learns from it, but is always critical of it. Thus our Party introduced what was helpful to the revolution and construction in our country and did not accept what was not.

Once some dogmatists and worshippers of the great powers who wormed themselves into our Party fiercely opposed the independent position of our Party on the experience of the fraternal parties.

They criticized the independent position of our Party as a "heretical" approach to the lines and policies of the fraternal parties. They demanded that in its internal and external activities our Party should mechanically copy after the lines and policies of other Parties.

The dogmatists and worshippers of the great powers completely divorced themselves from the Marxist-Leninist principles and ignored the realities and specific conditions of our country. They did not base their work on the lines and policies of our Party but blindly followed the policies of some other Parties, entertaining illusions about these policies.

Whenever our Party put forth a new policy, these people would check up first if it tallied with the policy of the Parties of some other countries. They insisted that we should model after foreign countries in socialist construction as well.

They took issue with our Party's line of economic construction on giving priority to the development of heavy industry while simultaneously developing light industry and agriculture. They argued how we would dare

do a thing which is not even mentioned in any of the Marxist-Leninist literature and which no other country has ever done before.

The dogmatists negated the historical necessity of agricultural co-operation, asserting that it was premature to put forth the policy of agricultural co-operation when we could not produce modern farm machines. When the agricultural co-operation movement was being unfolded on an extensive scale, they now protested that the tempo of the co-operation was too fast.

Asking why we should transform capitalist trade and industry, instead of utilizing them as in some other countries, they challenged the policy of the Party.

The dogmatists also opposed our Party's policy on intellectuals.

They criticized our Party's policy of educating and remoulding old-line intellectuals as "leading the Party toward the right." They argued that the old-line intellectuals must be purged since they were "capitalist elements."

It is true that most of the old-line intellectuals are of propertied class origin and served the exploiting classes in the past. But they experienced foreign imperialists' oppression and national discrimination. Therefore, they possess a certain degree of revolutionary spirit.

The dogmatists saw only the negative side of the old-line intellectuals, failing to see their positive side.

Rejecting the narrow-minded approach toward the old-line intellectuals, the Party educated and revolutionized them to serve the people and display their talents and skill. As a result, the old-line intellectuals have been steel-ed in struggle and remoulded into Red intellectuals, and are doing their work well.

By resolutely rejecting all erroneous contentions and obstructionist schemes of the dogmatists and worshippers of the great powers our Party could successfully push forward revolution and construction.

In fulfilling the difficult, complicated tasks in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, we, in the first place, attached importance to our own experience and laid main emphasis on it, although we drew on the experience of foreign countries, too. Along this line we have accumulated our own experience in all work and developed it. We have garnered rich experience in revolution and construction.

In this way our Party could avoid committing Right and "Left" deviations in lines as well as errors in principle in the whole course of revolution and construction.

Reality proves the complete justice of the lines and policies of our Party. We are now able further to develop revolution and construction on the basis of the experience we have accumulated.

We should defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism and map out and implement lines and policies conforming to the actual conditions of our country.

Marxism-Leninism will be further enriched and developed with the valuable experiences gained by each Party.

5. ONE SHOULD HAVE NATIONAL PRIDE

The Communists are making revolution with the country and the nation as a unit. The basic duty of the Communists of each country is, first of all, to fulfil the revolution in their own country successfully. They can contribute to the world revolution only when they carry out the revolution successfully in their own country.

In order to carry out the revolution and construction successfully in one's own country, one should educate the people in patriotism. One can fight better for the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people when one loves one's country and has national pride.

Without arming the people with socialist patriotism, it is impossible to build socialism and communism. Socialist patriotism is one of the powerful factors propelling social progress under socialism.

Such patriotic spirit is not born of itself. It can be fostered only when one knows better one's own country. One should be well acquainted with the history and fine traditions of one's own country and with the realities of today.

If one is ignorant of the past and present of one's country, one cannot have patriotism, national pride or the spirit of independence, nor can he display enthusiasm and devotion in revolution and construction.

One who has no pride in his nation will inevitably fall into national nihilism.

National nihilism is an ideological survival of the old society negating all the fine things of one's own country and blindly glorifying and idolizing foreign things.

Those who fall into national nihilism cannot have independency, maintain national sovereignty or carry through revolution. And eventually, they will become obsequious and subservient to others, discarding the honour and interests of their own people.

National nihilism is impermissible for Communists.

National nihilism is being inspired by the imperialists. For aggression and plunder they are intensifying the ideological offensive to paralyze the national consciousness of the people and make them go against their national interests.

How can Communists allow themselves to fall into national nihilism?

Once there were national nihilists in our country.

They forgot the basic position that they were Koreans and that, therefore, they should make the Korean revolution.

They did not have even pride as Koreans. Needless to say, these people could not have a clear head of their own.

The national nihilists did not study the reality of our country and the policy of our Party. They tried to find in the Party policies of other countries the answers to the questions arising in the revolution of our country.

They went so far as to negate the history and revolutionary tradition of our country altogether and ignore all the priceless legacies of our science and culture.

In educating the younger generation, too, they prevented us from imparting to the children and youth the knowledge that would enable them to understand our country better and serve our revolution more efficiently—the policy of the Party, the history, geography, culture and customs of Korea. Rather, they saw to it that more time and efforts were directed to teaching foreign things.

They also were against developing literature and arts on a national basis in keeping with the life and sentiments of the Korean people. Discarding our own songs and dances, they urged to follow the Western style. Even in painting, they demanded that more pictures on foreign subject-matter be produced than those depicting our beautiful scenery and the heroic struggle and life of our people.

In the eyes of the national nihilists, things of our own people were all worthless and childish. They showed reluctance to put up the fine things of our nation, taking it as a shame to do so, while regarding it as something lofty to imitate foreign countries.

National nihilism inflicted considerable damage to our revolutionary work. They went the length of ignoring the correctness of the lines and policies of our Party and negating the revolutionary gains attained by our people under the leadership of the Party.

Our Party has long since waged a consistent struggle against national nihilism.

First of all, we led the masses of the people to study more and learn more about our own things, instead of foreign things. We also led them to have pride in the

achievements of our people and the successes of our country and to strive further to carry them forward. In this way we saw that they hardened their determination to serve the Korean revolution, cherishing the honour of being Koreans, and heightened their spirit of *Juche*.

Our Party also raised it as an important question to unearth and carry forward the national traditions and the legacies of national culture. Our experience proves clearly that it is important in education in socialist patriotism to correctly take over and develop the legacies of national culture.

Communists never take a negative approach toward the legacies of national culture. It is the working class which is entrusted with the mission of inheriting and developing the most progressive and revolutionary traditions and legacies of the nation.

We should take over everything patriotic, popular and progressive created by our own people and develop it further on a new basis. It would not do to negate all the heritages of the old society because they are associated in one way or another with the exploiting classes. In evaluating the legacies of national culture, the class principle and the principle of historism must not be separated from each other but correctly combined.

It is impossible for socialist culture to spring forth from the void. It can be created only on the basis of inheriting and developing all the progressive legacies of the culture of mankind.

Lenin said: **"Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung nobody knows whence, it is not an invention of people who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the result of a natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, bureaucratic society."**

On what capital could we build socialist culture if we negate all the past things?

Of course, the Communists should adopt a critical attitude toward the legacies of national culture. Even the national heritage that is valuable enough to be carried forward cannot be completely free from the historical limitations of the given period. Therefore, we should analyse and examine the national heritage from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist historical materialism, extract everything positive and develop it in conformity with the realities of today when socialism is under construction. Under socialism culture is national in form and socialist in content.

If one fails to maintain such an attitude, he may go to the other extreme, falling into a restorationist deviation. The Communists should guard against this deviation, too.

We should be familiar not only with the past of our nation but also with realities. We should not neglect the study of realities, only studying the past. We can carry out neither revolution nor construction unless we know the realities of our country and understand the lines and policies of our Party. It is also for a correct understanding and grasping of realities and the more successful carrying out of the revolutionary work that we study the past.

It is a lofty virtue of the Communists to love one's socialist motherland. This has nothing in common with national chauvinism.

Socialist patriotism does not conflict with proletarian internationalism. The two are an inseparable whole.

The Communists ardently love their country and, at the same time, respect the sovereignty of other peoples. He who does not know how to love his country sincerely can not be a true internationalist. Nor can such persons possess national pride or independency.

We should heighten national pride and the spirit of independency among the Party members and working people by strengthening education in patriotism.

Only by so doing can we establish *Juche* and firmly uphold independency in all our activities.

6. INDEPENDENT NATIONAL ECONOMY IS THE MATERIAL BASIS OF INDEPENDENCY

The important task confronting the Communist and Workers' Parties after the seizure of power is the building of their countries into prosperous, developed socialist states. The gains of the revolution can be safeguarded and the revolution be pushed ahead continuously only by successfully carrying out socialist construction.

The Communists can by no means neglect economic construction. Should economic construction be unsuccessful in socialist countries, other revolutionary tasks also cannot be fulfilled successfully. The political and economic tasks of revolution are closely interlinked.

The main thing in socialist economic construction is to build and strengthen an independent national economy.

Without economic independence, political independence can not be ensured. If a country is unable to manage the affairs of the country on its own and run the economy as it wishes, that country is unworthy of the name of a sovereign, independent state.

A nation which is shackled to another country economically can not be politically independent from it. Economic dependence inevitably entails political dependence and economic submission is accompanied by political submission.

Building of an independent national economy is a particularly urgent problem in the countries which were previously colonies or semi-colonies. These countries inherited a backward and lop-sided economy. If they do not build an independent national economy, they cannot do away with the colonial onesidedness or avoid an unbalanced development. Thus they will never be able to free

themselves from the state of backwardness and become fully independent states.

It goes without saying that the building of an independent national economy in these countries is not an easy job. The building of an independent national economy needs a large amount of funds, plentiful labour and time, and it is accompanied by numerous difficulties. At first both ends may not meet, cost of products may be high and their quality low. This is inevitable.

But these are phenomena which will gradually disappear in due course as cadres are trained, workers become skilled, experience is accumulated and technique develops. One should not be afraid of difficulties.

If the countries which were colonies or semi-colonies are to develop the economy and to stand on their own feet, they must go through this stage. If they do not build an independent national economy because of the accompanying difficulties, they will be unable to defend their political independence and safeguard their sovereignty.

Our Party has carried through the line of building an independent national economy since the early days of the liberation. We are holding to this line even at present.

Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out in 1947: "For building a democratic, independent country one should lay the foundation of an independent economy of one's nation, and if the foundation of an independent economy is to be laid, the national economy must be developed speedily. Without the foundation of an independent economy we can neither achieve independence nor build the country, nor live."

It was a tough job to build an independent national economy under the prevailing conditions of our country.

History handed down a backward economy and culture to us. We were short of national cadres needed for economic construction. We had no experience in economic construction and our technical level was extremely low.

On top of this, the factional elements came out against our Party's line on the building of an independent national economy. They slandered the building of an independent national economy as "nationalism," "autarky" or as "running counter to international co-operation." Thus, the building of an independent national economy in our country was accompanied by an acute ideological struggle.

But, we advanced resolutely and unswervingly along the path we chose in order to become an independent, powerful and civilized nation. Surmounting difficulties, our Party forged ahead step by step. Thus we have eventually laid the foundations of an independent national economy and completely changed the appearance of the country.

We are today in a position to develop the economy chiefly relying on our own techniques, resources, cadres and the efforts of our own people. Our country which was economically dependent on foreign countries in the past, has turned into a country self-sufficient in the main. This signifies a great change in the history of our country.

Lagging behind others in the past, we could not but rely on import for machinery and equipment, consumer goods and even for food. But today we basically meet the home requirements with our own industrial and agricultural products.

Of course, the goods we turn out are not abundant and their quality is not yet high. But it is a very good thing to build new factories with home-produced machinery and equipment and ensure the livelihood of the people with goods made by ourselves. This not only constitutes the wherewithal to vigorously accelerate socialist construction but also greatly elevates the national pride and the spirit of independency of our people.

We are firmly establishing among the people the spirit of valuing home products and using them economically, though they are rather inferior in quality yet. We should see that our people do not think much of foreign goods

alone, making light of home-made goods. We should accustom the people to live independently, displaying the spirit of independency in the economic life as well.

This does not mean that we should not learn advanced techniques of foreign countries. Of course, we should learn advanced techniques from other countries and introduce what is good. But this is one thing, to live independently is another.

Only when we cultivate the trait of living independently, will the ideological life of the people, too, be sound, and independency be further strengthened.

By building an independent national economy we must bring our country into the ranks of the advanced countries as early as possible. In the economy, science, technology, culture and in all other spheres, we must come up to the advanced world level. By so doing we must in all spheres have something to be proud of before the world. Only then can we become a civilized nation capable of holding its own in the present-day society and do away with flunkeyism toward the great powers once and for all.

Only by building an independent national economy can the socialist countries enjoy complete equality and sovereignty in international relations.

Equality minus economic independence is nothing but an empty talk. He who cannot stand on his own feet cannot but read others' faces and degenerate to the status of begging for aid.

To disapprove the construction of an independent national economy amounts, in fact, to refusing to recognize the equality and independency of each country. Only by having an independent national economy can we exercise equal rights with other countries of the world, big and small, and act independently with pride in the international arena.

The construction of an independent national economy does not rule out mutual co-operation among the socialist countries. It is neither seclusionism nor close-door-ism

barring the entry of foreign things at all, locking up the door.

The socialist countries should develop the relations of mutual co-operation and fill each other's need. This is of great importance in accelerating socialist construction in each country.

But, mutual co-operation among the socialist countries should be conducted in such a way as to strengthen the independent development of each country. It is impermissible to infringe upon the independency of another country and hamper the construction of its independent national economy under the pretext of co-operation among the fraternal countries.

Should economic co-operation be conducted in disregard of the independency of the respective countries, it would inevitably entail unequal relations among them. It would naturally widen the disparity of the level of economic development. Such a thing should never be allowed in the relations among the socialist countries.

Only the construction of an independent economy can bring about the prosperity of a nation and the prosperity and development of the country and guarantee, in reality, the independence and sovereignty of the country.

7. ONE SHOULD RESPECT OTHERS' INDEPENDENCY

There are quite a number of Communist and Workers' Parties in the world today. Among them are big parties and small ones, some old and some young in their history. There are parties of socialist countries and of capitalist countries.

Each party wages its revolutionary struggle independently in different circumstances. This necessitates estab-

lishing mutual relations among the fraternal parties in the right way.

The Communists should correctly handle these relations especially between big and small parties and between parties of socialist countries and of capitalist countries. Experience shows that complicated problems are liable to crop up between big and small parties and between parties of socialist countries and of capitalist countries.

The norms governing mutual relations among fraternal parties must be strictly observed, if the relations among Communist and Workers' Parties are to be correctly handled. The mutual relations among the Communist and Workers' Parties are based on the principles of complete equality, sovereignty, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely assistance.

There can be no privileged party among the Communist and Workers' Parties. There are big parties and small ones, but there can be no superior party nor an inferior one, nor a party that gives guidance and a party that receives guidance. There should be no such relations in which some issue orders and exercise control from a central post, while others obey and worship them from below. They are all equal members of the international communist movement.

Each party establishes contact and hold consultations on an equal footing and ensures the unity of will and action according to agreed principles.

These principles governing mutual relations were confirmed at the Meetings of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1957 and 1960.

It is a sacred internationalist duty of all the parties to strictly abide by the norms of mutual relations among fraternal parties. All the parties, big or small, of socialist countries or of capitalist countries, must be faithful to this duty.

In the history of the international communist move-

ment, there were times when the Communists of various countries were active, rallied under a single International. At that time the Communists of various countries had to obey the decisions and instructions of the International under the principle of centralism. This was necessary under the historical conditions at the time.

Communist Parties had not yet been founded in most countries when the Third International was formed. Then the number of the Communists throughout the world was no more than 400,000. The inaugural meeting of the Third International was attended only by 51 delegates from 30 countries, including delegates of leftist groups of socialist parties, besides Communist Parties and Communist organisations. And the existing Parties were not yet solid organisationally and ideologically.

The international communist movement has today grown incomparably in scope and strength over that time.

Socialism has become a world system, overstepping the bounds of one country. Some 90 Communist and Workers' Parties are active in all continents, embracing an aggregate membership of some 50 million.

The world communist movement is a mighty political force of the present era, although it is undergoing a trial. The revolutionary movement of all peoples also has expanded on an unprecedented scale and is developing in complicated and diverse forms.

It is absolutely impossible for a single centre to give unified leadership over the world revolutionary movement which is developing on such a big scale as we see today. An international centre guiding all parties does not accord with the realistic demands of the international communist movement of today, no matter what form it may assume.

Moreover, it is quite unthinkable for a single party to guide all other fraternal parties. One country or one party cannot serve as the "centre of the world revolution" or the "leading party."

The party of each country assumes direct responsibility for leading the revolution and construction of that country. And no outsider can take its place.

To recognize the "centre of the world revolution" or the "leading party" in the international communist movement spells admitting the privileged position of a certain party. Then, some party will issue orders and give instructions, while others will have to obey them. And each Communist or Workers' Party will be unable to guide independently the revolution in its own country.

It is impermissible for the fraternal parties to interfere in the policy of another party or bring pressure to bear upon it.

Mutual relations among the Communist and Workers' Parties are a new form of international relations so far unknown in history. Each party should act in the spirit of mutual understanding and respect in the common cause of the victory of socialism and communism, and should maintain genuine comradely relations.

However, the international communist movement in the recent years has been a witness to the fact that the intolerable instances of imposing one's wrong lines and views on other fraternal parties, putting pressure upon those who refuse to accept them, and interfering in others' internal affairs, have not yet been eliminated.

We must not tolerate such an act of great-power-ism. Great-power-ism brings about the grave consequence of aggravating relations among fraternal parties.

Great-power-ism is a survival of the old exploiter society. It is an idea of the rulers of the old society, who held in contempt and oppressed small nations. Should great-power-ism be allowed, comradely and equal relations can not be maintained among the fraternal parties.

The policies and decisions of a party cannot be obligatory to or binding upon other parties. No matter how long a history and what rich experience a party may have, it cannot impose upon other parties its line and policy as

the general line of the international communist movement. Decisions of one party are obligatory only within that party. Therefore, no one can force other parties to accept the policy of his party or to follow it. In particular, it is impermissible for a big party or the party of a socialist country to impose, abusing its position, its policy and put pressure upon a small party and the party of a capitalist country.

We have fully supported and still support the just position of the Japan Communist Party which is correctly leading the revolutionary movement of the country and contributing to the cohesion of the international communist movement by opposing interference in its internal affairs by other parties and maintaining its independency consistently and steadfastly.

Each Communist or Workers' Party can and must shape its policies independently.

In the struggle against modern revisionism and dogmatism, too, its methods and forms may differ according to the actual conditions of each party. This is quite possible and even inevitable in view of the fact that the parties of various countries are active under different conditions and their specific tasks also differ.

One cannot force all parties to follow a single pattern in their activities. It is entirely up to each party to decide what formula it should adopt.

It cannot be said that the independent position of fraternal parties is at variance with Marxism-Leninism simply because it is not identical with the position of a certain party. Independent approaches of Marxist-Leninist Parties to questions arising in the international communist movement cannot be "opportunism," "neutralism" or "eclecticism."

One should not say that the policy of another's party is all wrong, or stick any kind of label on it at will because it does not conform to one's policy.

Under the conditions in which there exist differences within the international communist movement, the ques-

tion of having ties and contacts between fraternal parties cannot be decided in a uniform way. This question, too, should be handled by each party independently according to its actual conditions.

There is no reason why one should read others' faces and follow their suit. The Communists cannot follow others' instructions. A Communist should stick to his conviction.

Stalin stressed: "You will find in the world no Communists, who would agree to act 'under the instruction' from without, against their convictions, against their will, and regardless of the demands of the situation. If such Communists exist anywhere, they are not worth their salt. . . . The value of the Communists lies, among other things, in that they know how to hold fast to their convictions."

The Communists should not take a prepossessed or prejudiced view toward the independent activities of fraternal parties. They should not form hasty judgment and draw rash conclusions.

A Marxist-Leninist Party should have proper understanding of the independent attitude of other fraternal parties. It should always respect, not only by word but also by deed, the policies and views of other fraternal parties and take a most discreet attitude toward them.

The possible differences of viewpoints and methods on this or that question among the Communist and Workers' Parties should not be a hindrance to friendship and unity among them.

Such an act as to insult fraternal parties and infringe upon their independency will only result in impairing the friendly relations among fraternal parties and weakening the unity of the international communist movement.

If the unity of the international communist movement is to be truly voluntary and stable, the principle of independency should be firmly established among the fraternal parties.

Independency is the prerequisite and basis for unity. When the sovereign rights are encroached upon, unity is bound to be weakened. We should strive to cement the unity of the fraternal parties on the basis of respecting each other's independency. And we should accurately combine independency with unity.

The unity of the international communist movement must be based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary principles of the 1957 Declaration and 1960 Statement.

Only under this condition can friendship and unity among the Communist and Workers' Parties be really strengthened and the might of the international communist movement be increased further.

8. LET US STRENGTHEN THE JOINT STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, WHILE HOLDING FAST TO INDEPENDENCY

Defence of independency by the Communist and Workers' Parties is of great importance in strengthening the common struggle against imperialism, too.

The principle of independency does not mean going in for isolationism. Nor does it exclude international solidarity and joint action in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Defence of independency proceeds from the desire to successfully carry out both the revolution of one's own country and the world revolution.

The national and international tasks of the revolution are united inseparably with each other. Therefore, the Communists should not only fight for the revolution and construction in their own country but also fight actively for the common cause of the world's working class. Only then can they bring earlier the victory of their own

revolution and the world revolution.

Therefore, the Communists should actively keep up the common struggle against imperialism, while defending their independency.

It is the most urgent task facing the Communist and Workers' Parties today to intensify the joint struggle against the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war.

U.S. imperialism is the biggest international exploiter, the bastion of modern colonialism, the main force of aggression and war, the chieftain of world reaction and the international gendarme.

The developments in recent years once again clearly demonstrate the correctness of this proposition.

The U.S. imperialists are ceaselessly perpetrating aggression and subversive activities against the socialist countries and independent national states. They stifle the struggle of the people for national liberation and social progress and disturb peace everywhere in the world.

The American imperialists are brazenly waging the war of aggression against the Vietnamese people today. They have extended the range of their barbarous bombing of the Vietnam Democratic Republic to the areas of Hanoi and Haiphong and are ever more outrageously massacring peaceful inhabitants. They have taken one more step in escalating their war of aggression in Vietnam. In this way, the American imperialists are going to swallow up the socialist countries one by one.

The U.S. imperialists' war of aggression against the Vietnamese people is, at the same time, an aggression against the entire socialist camp, challenge to the national-liberation movement and a grave menace to peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

The U.S. imperialists' war of aggression against the Vietnamese people shows ever more clearly the brigandish nature of imperialism. The nature of imperialism never changes. The nearer imperialism approaches its doom, the

more frantically it resorts to aggression and war.

The U.S. imperialists are running wild to attain their ambition of world domination, exploiting the chance of the weakening unity of the international communist movement. Lack of unity in the international communist movement inevitably exerts a certain degree of negative influence on the development of the world situation.

If we allow the U.S. imperialists to perpetrate aggression and war at will, it will bring immeasurably grave consequences. How can the Communists look on with folded arms at such a situation?

We must turn the spearhead of attack on the U.S. imperialist aggressors and deal them counter-blows collectively.

The Vietnam question is the focal point in the anti-imperialist struggle today. The progressive forces and the reactionary forces of the world are in sharp conflict with each other on the Vietnam question.

It will have a great impact upon the revolutionary struggle of the world's people whether or not we succeed in curbing the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam. Therefore, the Communist and Workers' Parties must make every possible effort to oppose U.S. imperialism and assist the Vietnamese people.

We should organize and intensify the struggle against U.S. imperialism on a world-wide scale. Today when the U.S. imperialists are expanding the war of aggression in Vietnam stage by stage, the struggle of the world's people for opposing U.S. imperialism and assisting the Vietnamese people should also be expanded stage by stage.

Needless to say, the struggle of the people against U.S. imperialists' aggression in Vietnam is now on a high tide in all countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and other parts of the world. Even in the United States the struggle of the democratic forces against the policies of the ruling circles for aggression and war is expanding.

This is a good thing. But this alone is not sufficient.

The anti-imperialist forces should counter U.S. imperialism with a powerful united might. Our strength lies in unity. If all the anti-imperialist forces unite closely, they can certainly overpower the war forces and defeat U.S. imperialism.

Therefore, a powerful international anti-imperialist joint action and united front must be realized, centred around the socialist camp, the international communist movement, the working class movement and the national-liberation movement.

This will strengthen the unity of all the anti-imperialist forces and increase their might many times. This will also further inspire the revolutionary struggle of the world's people and deal a heavier blow to the U.S. imperialists. Furthermore, this will pave the way for the genuine unity of the international communist movement.

A big obstacle lies today in the way of realizing the anti-imperialist joint action and united front. There are serious differences and lack of unity in the international communist movement which plays the vanguard role in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The existing difficulties will not settle of their own accord. The differences are serious, but we should explore sincerely ways and means of surmounting them.

The situation demands urgently that we realize the anti-imperialist joint action. The materialization of the anti-imperialist joint action is the foremost and pressing revolutionary task confronting the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

Whether to fight against U.S. imperialism or not, whether to support the revolutionary struggle of the world's people or not—these are the main points of the differences. The approach to these questions is the touchstone for appraising the Marxist-Leninist position of each party.

Of course, there are many other differences but, for the sake of the anti-imperialist joint action and united

front, a common ground of agreement should be sought, first of all, on these fundamental questions, shelving other questions for the time being. Then the international communist movement will have a basis for taking a joint action.

We consider that there exists certain community of views on the question of anti-imperialist struggle.

All the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties of various countries today oppose the U.S. imperialists' aggression against Vietnam and support anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of the Vietnamese people. Socialist countries are also rendering a certain amount of material assistance to the Vietnamese people.

This bespeaks that we have an elementary basis for taking a joint action and forming a united front in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists at the present juncture.

It will be tested and clarified through actual struggle whether one's opposition to imperialism is real or sham, whether one's support to the struggle of the Vietnamese people is real or sham. Practice will be the touchstone of sincerity, and it will draw the demarcation line between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism all the clearer.

The Communists must unite with all the anti-imperialist forces.

They must expand the anti-imperialist front and isolate U.S. imperialism to the maximum by winning more allies even if some people are not consistent but vacillating in their stand.

As Lenin pointed out, we should lead even those who are **"temporary, vacillating, unstable and unreliable"** to the anti-imperialist struggle by utilizing every possibility. If anyone means to oppose imperialism, he must be enlisted in the anti-imperialist joint struggle.

We should induce those fighting shy of anti-imperialist struggle to come out to the struggle and those who are passive in the anti-imperialist struggle to take an active

part in it. This is in line with the general interest of the world revolution.

Anti-imperialist joint struggle means neither unprincipled compromise nor unconditional unity.

Differences within the international communist movement are of a serious and principled character. They can not be glossed over; they must be overcome through ideological struggle.

While taking an anti-imperialist joint action, therefore, the Communists must continue to fight in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, opposing opportunism of all hues.

We call for joint action on condition that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and our independent positions are firmly defended. The opportunist elements should be criticized and overcome, but the anti-imperialist aspects be supported and promoted. The Communists should hold fast to the principle of both unity and struggle with regard to the policy of anti-imperialist united front.

Joint action and united front in the struggle against U.S. imperialism are not in conflict with the struggle against revisionism. On the contrary, this is aimed at fighting with greater initiative and more positively against revisionism. The anti-imperialist common struggle is an important aspect of the struggle against revisionism.

All the Communists must do their utmost for realizing the international anti-imperialist joint action and united front in order to oppose U.S. imperialism and support the Vietnamese people. This is the way to be faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and to fulfil one's internationalist duties at the present juncture.

Today all the anti-imperialist forces must unite and place a curb upon the actions of the U.S. imperialists and break their claws of aggression wherever they have set foot.

When all the forces, rallied in the anti-imperialist united front, wage a daring struggle against imperialism,

it will certainly fall and the world revolution will triumph.

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Our Party has accumulated valuable experience in the struggle for strengthening independency in the past period. This is our great wherewithal to further revolution and construction in our country.

We should turn to account and develop further the already gained experience and fulfil our revolutionary duty successfully.

We must carry out socialist construction still better in the northern part of our country, drive the U.S. imperialists from South Korea, and accomplish the cause of the country's unification.

Complicated and difficult problems are awaiting solution in the international communist movement, too. There exist serious differences on principles between the fraternal parties and the unity of the international communist movement has not been achieved yet.

Facts demand that *Juche* be established firmly. In the future, too, as in the past, our Party will hold fast to independency and carry through its independent line in its internal and external activities.

The Korean Communists will abide by the Declaration and Statement of the meetings of the representatives of fraternal parties and will always be faithful to their national and internationalist duties for the fulfilment of the world revolution.

Our Party will exert all possible efforts to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism,

Our Party will fight to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against modern revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism.

We will also strengthen solidarity with the world's people who are waging revolutionary struggles, and fight, in unison with all the anti-imperialist forces, against U.S. imperialism and for the ultimate victory of the world revolution.

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